COPIES

OF

NIGINAL LETTERS,

&c.

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OF

ORIGINAL LETTERS

RECENTLY WRITTEN BY

PERSONS IN PARIS,

TO

DR. PRIESTLEY IN AMERICA.

TAKEN ON BOARD A NEUTRAL VESSEL.

Thus, if Eternal Juſtice rule the ball,
Thus ſhall THEIR wives, and thus THEIR children fall;
THERE paſſengers ſhall ſtand, and, pointing, ſay,
While the long fun'rals blacken all the way,
THESE, THESE were they whoſe SOULS the furies ſteel'd!

POPE.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.

PREFACE.

London, May 14, 1798.

THE Letters of which the following are literal copies were found on board a Danish ship*, lately brought into one of our ports, by the Diamond Frigate. The originals were inclosed in a cover directed to "*Dr. Priestley, in America.*" They have been exhibited, with the usual attestations, in the high court of admiralty, as part of the evidence in the proceedings against the above-mentioned ship, and her cargo, and are now remaining on record in the public registry of that court. Their authenticity is, therefore, placed beyond a dispute, and may be personally ascertained by any man who chuses to take that trouble.

* The Christiana, Nicholas Albosted, Master.

Theſe letters relate almoſt excluſively to public matters; and their contents muſt be deemed intereſting to every man who has a ſtake in the welfare of his country, or of any other civilized nation. Of the ſituation of the writers, and of the means of their information, little need be ſaid; becauſe the letters themſelves ſpeak ſufficiently to thoſe points. Mr. J. H. Stone is the brother of the perſon, acquitted about two years ago on a charge of carrying on a treaſonable correſpondence with France, in conjunction with one Jackſon, who was convicted at Dublin, on a ſimilar accuſation. Mr. Stone has been ſettled at Paris ever ſince the revolution; he is the friend of Prieſtley and Talleyrand, and is intimately connected with Citizen Gallois*.

* This is the ſame Gallois who was lately ſent over here by the Directory, on the pretence of negociating the exchange of priſoners. It was ſoon found that he had nothing to propoſe on this ſubject; and his conduct, intercourſe, and connections, proving that his buſineſs was of a very different nature, he was ordered to reſide at ſome diſtance from London; upon which he immediately quitted the country, although his pretended buſineſs did not require his reſidence in town, but might as eaſily have been carried on in any other place, as

Of the Lady nothing need be ſaid, beyond what is publickly known, or what theſe letters will ſupply. Nor do the character and principles of Dr. Prieſtley require any illuſtration, any more than the nature of his prophecies, on the faith of which he is invited, by Mr. Stone, to return and fix his reſidence in England, " SUCH AS ENGLAND WILL THEN BE." A recommendation with which the Doctor may poſſibly not yet think it prudent to comply.

The papers themſelves abound with matter of the moſt ſerious reflection. Volumes of commentaries might be written on ſuch a text. If the animoſity of theſe apoſtate Engliſhmen againſt their own country, their conviction that NO SUBMISSIONS will avert our danger, and their deſcription of the engines employed by the Directory for our deſtruction, were impreſſed, as they ought to be, upon the minds of all our countrymen,

indeed the fact had proved in the inſtance of Mr. Swinburn, who for many months was not ſuffered to come to Paris.

we ſhould certainly never again be told of the innocent deſigns of theſe traitors, or their aſſociates;—We ſhould hear no more declaimers, or pamphleteers, calling out for peace, which even diſhonour cannot purchaſe;—We ſhould no longer ſee men of any rank or deſcription amongſt us acting, in this hour of danger, as Mr. Stone deſcribes the Directory to act, and *flattering every paſſion and every prejudice, in order to diſunite the people of England from their Government.*

Nor is it to us alone that theſe inſtructive leſſons are addreſſed. The picture which theſe Letters exhibit of what has already paſt in Europe, and the prophetic ſtatement of what is yet to come, are calculated (if any thing can yet do it) to rouſe the apathy of thoſe ſurrounding Governments whoſe ruin is faſt approaching. They will find here every feature and lineament of the true Jacobin character. They will ſee the philoſophical indifference with which Mr. Stone views the misfortunes of others, provided they contribute to ſupport his ſyſtems;—his tranquil and contented acquieſcence in the puniſhment of his friends and accomplices, condemned to

an exile much worſe than death, for crimes, of which he ſays no man of common ſenſe (even among their judges or their accuſers) thought them guilty;—his inſulting diſplay of all the pillage, proſcription, and maſſacre, which his principles have produced within ſo few years;—*a pretty decent progreſs*, as he calls it, *within ſo ſhort a time!*—

"*A world of woes diſpatched in little ſpace!*"

his exultation in the overthrow of peaceful and unoffending governments;—his triumph over the devaſtation of free, and happy countries;—the delight with which he contemplates millions of his fellow creatures reduced to the moſt degrading ſlavery, and groaning under the yoke of the loweſt and the worſt of mankind;—and laſt, but moſt of all, the rapacious and ſanguinary joy with which he enumerates the freſh kingdoms and empires devoted to the ſame deſtruction—cloſing the brilliant proſpect with the view of his own great, glorious, and flouriſhing country, torn by inteſtine diſcord, deſolated by the ravages of a relentleſs and ſavage enemy, and

ſinking under the utmoſt extremities of human miſery!

We who are not yet enlightened by this philoſophy, which tolerates every thing except Chriſtianity, and feels for every thing but human happineſs, believe and truſt that there is yet a Providence who watches over the fate of empires—juſt and powerful to confound the devices of theſe PROFLIGATE TRAITORS, and to turn to their own deſtruction the blow which is aimed at our exiſtence.

COPIES

OF

ORIGINAL LETTERS, &c.

Paris, 12th, Feb. 1798, (25 *Pluviose, 6 Year.*)

DEAR SIR,

ALTHOUGH it is now a very considerable time that we have not had the pleasure of hearing immediately from you yourself; yet, either by way of England or by Citizens coming from America, we are seldom for a long time without tidings of a more or less particular nature concerning you. The last we received from a young Frenchman, who tells us, that he has been particularly acquainted with you, and rejoiced us with the agreeable information, that at the peace you would not fail to revisit Europe; and that he hoped you would fix yourself in this country. Whether you fix yourself here or in England, *(as England will then be)* is probably a matter of little importance, except to your friends, who

will naturally be anxious to have you each where themſelves are fixed; but we all think, that you are miſplaced where you are, though, no doubt, in the way of uſefulneſs,* however the ſphere may be diminiſhed. As you have now a friend on the Continent who can diſcuſs this point with you better than myſelf, I leave it to his and your meditation, and enter on other matters.

I preſume that you are not ſo far removed from the centre of the political world, in your retreat at Northumberland,† as not to be duly informed of the principal events that are paſſing in Europe, although you may not know much of the detail. You will of courſe have heard that our OLD COUNTRY is now the only one left to ſtruggle againſt the French Republic, and left *under every diſad-*

* Dr. Prieſtley is *in the way of uſefulneſs* in America, becauſe he is labouring there, as his aſſociates are in Europe, to diſunite the people from their government, and to introduce the bleſſings of French anarchy. But the ſphere is too confined for his exertions. To produce the miſery of four or five millions of men who have afforded him hoſpitality and protection, and to make the Weſtern world the ſcene of deſolation and confuſion, is a reſult good as far as it goes, but hardly worth the labours of this great Prophet and Philoſopher!—Æſtuat infelix, anguſto limite mundi.

† In America, the place of Dr. Prieſtley's reſidence.

vantage that every friend to her real welfare would wish; namely, in a very fair way of accomplishing your prophetic discourses, delivered at various times, and divers manners, of which *happily* they took no account.

You will have heard of the vast armaments and preparations of every kind which have been making for some months past, and which are carrying forward with all that energy and activity which characterizes this nation, when they have a purpose in hand which they must go through, cost what it will. Of it's cost they are well aware*, and I should make use of a term, very

* This passage may serve to confute the foolish notion that France, if unable to subdue us, is able to wear us out by a content of expence. The expenditure of France, little if at all inferior to ours, is drawn from the bowels of a totally exhausted country, without any means of external aid. Our navy by the protection of a continually increasing commerce, and by the consequent extension of agriculture and manufactures, contains within itself the principle of its own supply. Nor is it probable that any member of the French government can even form an idea of the extent of our resources, when animated and called forth by the spirit which now prevails in England.

It may indeed be doubted, notwithstanding Mr. Stone's assertion, whether the Directory have yet learnt what the attempt *will cost them*, unless they have begun to calculate it on the scale of Marcou.

insignificant in the expression, if I said they were only enthusiastic to put their projects in execution, they are so earnest in it as if their existence here, *and their eternal welfare* depended on the trial.—The invasion of England is a *denrée*, or merchandize of the first necessity for them, and I should doubt whether any concession on the part of England could now avert the experiment: whether it will be a fatal one to it's government, time only can determine. In the mean time, the government here are putting in work every engine, attempting to engage every passion, to enlist every prejudice, nevertheless always anxious to discriminate between the Government and the People, flattering the one, as much as they profess to execrate the other,*

A famous Turkish general having after a siege of two months, and a loss of eight thousand men, taken the fort of St. Elmo, an inconsiderable fortress of Malta, exclaimed: "If this be the "price of the daughter, what will the mother cost us?"

* The preface has already pointed out this passage to the attention of all Englishmen. It contains the summary of all that we ever could have to fear in this country. But the game is no longer concealed—the disguise is gross and manifest. Venice, Genoa, and Swisserland, have taught us all to estimate the value of French fraternity. No artifices employed by France, no language used in this country, from whatever quarter it may come, will now divide the people from their government.

While this laſt act of the French drama of this eventful ſtruggle is taking place, the Republic has been playing a few interludes in various parts of Europe. You have heard of the deſtruction of the government of Venice, of the regeneration of that of Genoa, of the conſtitutional fermentation of the Ciſalpine Republic;—the news of the preſent period is the fall of the Papal power, the poſſeſſion of Rome by the French troops on account of the late maſſacre†, and the formation of this country into a new government under the name of the Roman Republic. In like manner as the French troops are now employed in pulling down the chief ſpiritual power in one part, another portion is occupied in overturning the genius of Ariſtocracy in the Swiſs Cantons, each of which, under the influence of the French Republic, are buſied in deſtroying their preſent tyrannic oligarchies, and melting the whole into an

† Nothing is more curious in the hiſtory of Jacobiniſm than its phraſeology. Are priſoners, women, prieſts, and children, butchered by thouſands at a time, in cold blood, and with every aggravated circumſtances of cruelty? Theſe are called *Revolutionary incidents*, ebullitions of popular zeal. But if, by the juſt reſentment of a people whoſe religion he is inſulting, and whoſe government he is labouring to overthrow, a Jacobin ſhould periſh in a riot of his own exciting, this becomes *a maſſacre*, for which no ſatisfaction will ſuffice, ſhort of delivering over a whole nation to pillage and proſcription, to anarchy and atheiſm.

Helvetic Republic, founded on the basis of the Rights of Man, with a representative government. Of the nature of their past governments, and the abuses which they contain, you will have a pretty just idea, if two volumes in octavia, of a View of Switzerland, written by Miss H. M. Williams, and now publishing in London, shall happen to fall into your hands.* The spirit of Equality, which has retraversed the Alps, has also entered the Rhine. The province of Suabia, is in insurrection in divers places, and though troops are marching to endeavour to suppress it, we expect to hear that the contagion spreads more rapidly. The state of the empire is such, especially among the little provinces, as to encourage this spirit of revolt, France at present treats the whole so much *de haut en bas*, that the

* This passage affords a curious commentary on the work here mentioned, which in principle and sentiment, can only be illustrated by the conduct of the *female Patriots*; who, after the massacre of the 10th of August, stripped and mutilated the carcasses of the Swiss troops, who had then (as their brethren have since) fallen, in the discharge of their duty, and in the defence of a just cause. It must here be observed, that the unceasing industry with which the English press is loaded with libels on every established government, and on the whole state of society in Europe, under the form of novels, voyages, letters, and anecdotes, is one of those signs of the times (as Mr. Stone calls them) which most deserve the attention of those who wish well to morality and public order

people can preſent but few ſentiments of reſpect when they ſee their governors treated with ſo much contempt.*

The Congreſs aſſembled at Radſtadt continue to object to the limits of the Rhine as the boundary of the French Republic; but as there is ſo much force on the one ſide, and ſo little reaſon on the other, it is eaſy to decide how the matter will be arranged. At preſent the Rhine is the boundary; the Court of Vienna has conſented to the ceſſion, having no perſonal intereſt to the contrary; and the King of Pruſſia has actually given up the provinces of Cleves and Guelders, and whatever other territory he held on this ſide the river. If, therefore, the Princes do not yield with a good grace to the preſent ſecularization, they will be compelled to a ſtill greater; and probably at this moment it is finally and irrevocably determined that the whole Eccleſiaſtical part of Germany ſhall be ſecularized.

* No ſentiment can be more juſt. It would be well if every government in Europe were impreſſed with this opinion. The late diſplay of the tricolor flag at Vienna, proves, among a thouſand other inſtances, how attentive the Directory is to the principle on which the remark is grounded.

What compenſation the King of Pruſſia receives is not yet decided on—it is probable he will have Hanover, if arrangements can be taken without hurting the intereſts of the neighbouring friendly powers, but nothing is yet finally ſettled in that quarter.

Whatever can tend to humble the Engliſh government is moſt anxiouſly ſought after, in whatever ſhape the mode of oppoſition preſents itſelf. The only, or almoſt the only, outlet for Engliſh merchandize, is the port of Hamburgh. The French, who have at preſent long arms, have ſtretched out one of their fingers towards that town, and have, as we underſtand, even laid it on. We expect to hear every poſt that the port is ſhut againſt the Engliſh, and that the Engliſh merchandize which is emmagazined there, to the amount of three or four millions, is confiſcated.* What the fate of theſe petty oligarchies in the North will be, is yet uncertain: whether theſe towns, ſuch as

* The reader muſt not imagine that, becauſe this prediction has not yet been verified, it is therefore a proof of ignorance in the writer. It is known to many perſons, that this project was actually decided upon by France, and that its execution was prevented only by the fear of oppoſition from thoſe continental powers, the ruin of whoſe commerce was involved in the conſequences of ſuch a meaſure.

Hamburgh, Embden, Franckfort, will remain as they are, under the great changes operating in the Empire; or whether they will be amalgamated with ſome other territory,† and till the general day of deliverance arrives, which, according to the ſigns, does not appear to be at a very great diſtance.

Of thoſe ancient and regular governments that will ſoon fall, Spain ſeems determined to take the lead. Every thing internal is big with revolution, according to all the accounts which travellers of obſervation and veracity bring us from thence. In addition to this, the French government are on the point of demanding very ſerious explanation, why, during a year and a half of hoſtility with England, Spain has been more ſedulous to help the common enemy, than aid the intereſts of her ally the French Republic. It is not very doubt-

† Such is the nature of the acquiſitions which the Directory encourages the Princes of Germany to make at the expence of their neighbours. They are to be annexed to their territories only for the preſent, and till *the general deliverance* arrives. A ſpirit of juſtice or wiſdom is ſaid to have influenced the two great powers of the Empire to reject theſe poiſoned gifts, and to refuſe to lend themſelves to the accompliſhment of ſuch iniquitous and dangerous projects. May this be the ſymptom of returning reaſon on other points not leſs important!

ful, that one of the interludes before alluded to, will be the march of an army acroſs the Pyrenees, through Madrid to Liſbon, unleſs the demands made by the French government be inſtantly complied with, which are ſaid to be the delivery of the Spaniſh Fleet into the hands of the French, to be put under the direction of French officers, and the invaſion of the kingdom of Portugal by the Spaniſh Troops. In this alternative, it ſeems that Spain is placed, trembling on every ſide for her preſent political exiſtence, and with good reaſon to tremble. If theſe two governments, which will then form one, be alſo revolutionized, a conſiderable portion of longitude and latitude in Europe will take the Republican ſyſtem, and we ſhall have made *pretty decent progreſs*, conſidering the little ſpace of time we have had to operate in, and the obſtacles we have hitherto met with, which are at preſent conſiderably removed.

Amidſt theſe changes without, you will no doubt be ſurprized to hear of an unexpected change, that takes place from time to time, within. You will have trembled for our Conſtitution, and probably felt *ſome alarm for liberty* on the events of the 18 Fructidor; you will have felt

ſimilar *diſagreeable ſenſations*, in hearing of the late arreſts of the Deputies in Holland. Theſe are events, no doubt, *very diſtreſſing*; but unfortunately we are ſo placed as to be obliged to commit one evil to avoid an accumulation;* no one pretends that either thoſe men, at leaſt the immenſe majority of them, who have been ſent from time to time to Cayenne, or the Dutch Deputies now under arreſt, are enemies either to Liberty or their reſpective Republics; *no one of common ſenſe entertains this opinion:* knowing many of this conquered party intimately, I can aver, that they have left none behind more pure in manners, or more decided in favour of republican liberty. But, unfortunately, thoſe of France ſufferred their perſonal paſſions to interfere with their political duties, and they lent unwittingly their aid to thoſe who wiſhed to cruſh the Republic, while their only aim was to cruſh the men in

* The invariable progreſs of guilt! The conſequences of one crime produce the neceſſity of another, till at length a ſituation ariſes, from which there is no receding; but where the callous conſcience, even of the moſt ſanguinary Democrat, feels remorſe and horror.

Facilis deſcenſus averni,
Sed revocare gradum!

power, whom they conſidered as uſurpers, and whom they hated. The men in power WERE TOO WELL VERSED IN REVOLUTIONS not to amalgamate their own perſonal enemies with thoſe of the ſtate; and hence ariſes the expedition to Cayenne. Take the inverſe; ſuppoſe the conquered party had triumphed, we ſhould have either an interminable civil war, or Royalty, if it were poſſible for this exploded ſyſtem to return, would have been reſtored. Theſe exiles would themſelves have been the firſt victims of their own operations. In Holland theſe deputies confirmed the government; in France the government overthrew the oppoſition, then the oppoſition overthrew the government. The government of Holland, though indepted for its political exiſtence to France, has all along ſhewn a *moſt miſplaced ſpirit of independence*; and although the reſtitution of its colonies ſeemed the only barrier to a peace with England, has manifeſted a conſiderable degree of tardineſs to join in the operations againſt that power. The imprudent and ever-ſuſpected conduct of the government, in ſending out the fleet to be taken by the Engliſh, and the reluctance they have ſhewn to come to any conſtitutional ſettlement, on the baſis of equality, ſuch as it is now generally underſtood, has led the French

government to lend its hand to the party of the opposition, who were more complying, and the government has changed its hands. It was not difficult to foresee that this event or a similar would take place. I had occasion to notice, during a short visit I made this last summer at the Hague, that cordiality between the two governments would not be of very long duration; and oftentimes they were told by M. Noel, the French ambassador, as he himself informed me, that unless they would *defer their extreme love of independence to a more convenient season*, and join more heartily with the French government in its great plan, they would rue the consequence,* which the event has justified. It is happy, however, that these evils are not out of the reach of repair—the peace will, no doubt, restore every thing to its original position.

In the mean while every thing within is in a state of the most perfect tranquility. The *public force* has *compressed* the attempts both of Jacobins and Royalists, and there appears no kind of reason for supposing that we shall have any more

* This is the people whom France professed to deliver from the yoke of England!

of these *civil movements* at present. The country, so far as respects its domicile state, is more advantageously situated than any other in Europe. Agriculture was never so much the rage, and manufactures, *but for the great encouragement given to English produce*, would have been equally thriving. Every thing in this country is as cheap again as in England; bread is from a half-penny to three farthings a pound; meat from threepence to fourpence, and other articles in proportion*. The difference of expence will no doubt make France the residence of vast numbers at the peace, independent of its other attractions, such as its being the centre of every thing that is sublime and elegant in the arts. The spoils of Italy are on their way to Paris. There will be collected in one point of view, especially since the late events at Rome, all that formerly attracted the visits of travellers to various parts of Italy. The government is also solicitous to make the best use of the treasure which it possesses, by constructing museums, academies, walks; and by enumerating the public promenades and gardens;

* The falsehood of this assertion hardly deserves refutation.—Every one knows that in such a comparison, the quality, as well as the nominal price of the articles, must be considered.

recal, as far as possible, the brilliant, scientific, and literary æras of the Grecian republics.

If there is any thing that meets with discouragement from government in this country, that refers to public instruction, it is the remains of the Roman Catholic Religion, which, with all the letters and laws of tolerance which have been passed, has not been able to raise itself up from under the crush of the interdict which the combined powers of philosophy and terror have laid on it. You have heard, no doubt, of the new sect which now has usurped every church in Paris, under the name of Theophilanthrophism. The sect is prohibited by the government; but it is in the hands of ignorant men, who do not know how to use the weapons that are put into their hands. They are, however, for the most part well intentioned; and were they the means of information, *would probably make good Christians.* Nothing is read here on these subjects; because nothing is wrote. We have seen nothing but Mr. Paine's Age of Reason; of which an immense edition in French was published, and not twenty copies were sold. I am told he has also been rejected from the society of the Theophilanthropes, on the charge of intolerance. They have, at least, refused his of-

fers of public inſtruction. Some atheiſtical tracts have been publiſhed, which have been little attended to, and the mind is floating at preſent, not knowing on what ground to repoſe, unwilling to reject the Chriſtian religion, and yet ignorant how to diſtinguiſh the wheat from the chaff.

Our national inſtitute goes on, reading and publiſhing, and has juſt appearance of activity, though nothing of very conſiderable importance has been done ſince its formation. I believe I mentioned to you in my laſt letter, that Favery is about to publiſh a Hiſtory of Chemiſtry, or, at leaſt, is buſily employed in writing, in the mode, as I underſtand from himſelf, of your Hiſtory of Optics and Electricity. I have a packet of books done up for you, at a bookſeller's; but the hopes of ſeeing you in France hindered me from ſending them at the period I might have ſent them, and now it would be extremely hazardous, ſince all American veſſels are made prizes, and there is no ſecurity of conveyance; nevertheleſs, if I find a fortunate opportunity I ſhall ſend them, for I fear that we ſhall yet delay to ſee you here.

Whether we ſhall continue or increaſe our hoſtilities towards the United States, is as yet uncer-

tain; all depends on the great operation directing against England*. If that succeeds, English influence will probably not predominate amongst you. In the mean time, it is most likely that the French will go on as at present, treating *with as little ceremony as usual* every thing that relates to America. John Adams's speech on the opening of congress caused a few smiles; the more so, as it was understood to be a speech full of thunder and menace against France. Nothing is wanting but the interposition of some upright and patriotic citizen, to settle † the misunderstanding; but I fear *it will not be done in John Adams's time.*

* Mr. Stone's opinion on this point is not singular. There are few persons in Europe or America who do not now feel that their existence depends on our safety. If more anxiety is not expressed on the subject by foreigners, it proceeds from the confidence which our fleets inspire, and to which they are well entitled. We, for our part, have a stronger ground of confidence—a confidence IN OURSELVES.

† If report is to be credited, the Directory were by no means averse to *settle the misunderstanding* in the usual mode, of the particulars of which M. D'Araujo, and other negociators, who have rated *personally* with them, can give a very accurate account, provided they are out of the reach of a *mandat d'arrêt.* What pity that no upright and patriotic citizen could be found to comply with this *upright* and *patriotic* demand!

I inclose a note for our friend M. B. P.; but as ignorant of the name he bears at present among you, I must beg you to seal and address it. We have heard nothing of him since his departure, and know but vaguely that he is secreted at present at Kennebeck. Mr. Skipwith has promised that a letter shall be conveyed safely to you: I have therefore taken the opportunity of writing you a triple letter; and but for fear of wearying your patience, so much multiplied are events, I could fill half a dozen more. The History of the events in France of the last year you will find pretty largely detailed in the New Annual Register †, to which my present is a kind of supplement; but we hope that you will not long delay to be a fellow-witness of them with ourselves. I remain, with sentiments of the highest respect,

Your very faithful

And sincere friend,

J. H. STONE.

† This reference is very characteristic of the principles and views which have uniformly directed the publication here mentioned.

MY DEAR SIR,

A VERY ſafe conveyance, by a friend of Mr. Skipwith, having preſented itſelf, I have taken occaſion to addreſs ſomething like a packet to Dr. Prieſtley, and ſhall alſo take the ſame opportunity of ſending a few lines to yourſelf. We reſt in faith, that you are ſafe and ſound on ſome portion of the great Continent; but in what ſign of the zodiack, we are as ignorant as if you were in the moon. We have heard nothing of you, or from you, directly or indirectly, ſince your departure; and, according to all appearance, ſhall have nothing from you till your return. I ſuppoſe, at leaſt, you are within the knowledge of human events, which are paſſing ſo rapidly around us, as to furniſh you with ſufficient food for meditation even in your retreat. You will, no doubt, be a little ſurpriſed, and not a little pleaſed, to know that there exiſts two ſuch powers in the world as the *Roman Republic* and the *Helvetian Republic*, one and indiviſible. Theſe operations are now taking place with great celerity; and, I ſuppoſe, it will not be long before you will hear of an Iberian Republic, of Luſitanian Republic, &c. &c. &c. In ſhort, the political world rolls ſo rapidly, that we

ſcarce have time to look around us, and *admire* the revolution of one ſpot, before we are called off to look after another. Turkey is not exempt from the contagion. The Grecian States have felt the influence of the general inſurrection, and both the northern and ſouthern ſtates in Europe, of this empire, are in a ſtate of rebellious combuſtion. You will alſo have been much ſurpriſed to have ſeen the hiſtory of our internal rebellions, ſince your departure—the promotion and exile of Barthelemy—the promotion of Talleyrand, and his remaining in place*—*the miſſion of our friend Gallois*, &c. With reſpect to the events of the 18 Fructidor, you have, no doubt, from your very intimate knowledge of the politics of this country, drawn the juſt concluſions. It has been a happy event for the country, and attended with

* This is juſtly ſtated. The promotion (as it is called) of a noble, a prieſt, a biſhop, and an emigré, to be one of the miniſters of the Directory, might well ſurprize a perſon who had probably ſeen and converſed with Talleyrand in America. To be promoted and then exiled, is not indeed matter of much ſurprize: but to be promoted and to remain for any conſiderable time in place has not happened to any Revolutioniſt yet, and we believe it never will; though Mr. Stone tells us that Talleyrand ſo conducts himſelf as to make his place reſpectable, and to inſure his continuance in it.—Two things which do not ſeem very conſiſtent, when applied to the ſituation of a Miniſter of the French Directory.

the happieſt conſequences. Regret no doubt that theſe individual evils take place, but incalculable evils have thereby been avoided; for though the conquered party HAD NO VIEW AGAINST THE REPUBLIC, yet the hoſts of emigrants and royaliſts, armed and prepared for action, which at that time filled Paris, relied on this party for their ſupport.

The government ſince has conducted itſelf with great prudence and moderation, conſidering the circumſtances in which it was placed. It has, however, taken a firm* and is likely to meet with no more diſturbances. The miniſter who has the greateſt influence, and who throws a luſtre over the reſt, is the Citizen Talleyrand. He ſo conducts himſelf, as not only to make his place reſpectable, but ſo as to inſure his continuance in it. We are alſo good friends—I ſee him now and then at his hotel, and once or twice he has done me the honour of a viſit. On occaſions, which ſome day in the hiſtory of events I may tell you, he continually enquires for you, and begs his beſt remembrances. The great actor is the Director Merlin—he was at our

* Not legible.

houſe the day before yeſterday, and we renewed our acquaintance.

The perſon who goes out next month is Francois De Neufchateau,* and his ſucceſſor will be named in conſequence of a new regulation by the preſent legiſlature: ſo that the ſame ſpirit will continue to direct operations as before. The police is very ſtrong and active;—many towns in the South Army (among which Lyons) are put *en etat de ſiege*,† and every meaſure has been taken to repreſs the ſpirit of fanaticiſm and royalty, which, without the 18th Fructidor, would have overturned the Republic, or plunged it into the horrors of civil war and confuſion.

* This is the true ſyſtem of a conſtitutional rotation of office by lot, when the perſon on whom the lot is to fall is known, and declared, three months before the dice are caſt. Since this was written, it is reported that theſe great men have quarrelled about the price of this political ſwindling, and that they are all to ſtand their lot except Merlin.

† Obſerve the picture drawn by theſe conſpirators of the country in which they live, and which they ſay is in its domeſtic ſtate more advantageouſly ſituated than the reſt of Europe.—Its manufactures are annihilated, its religion is interdicted, the public mind is floating between atheiſts and drivellers. Its legiſlators and governors are ſeized and tranſported without the pretence of guilt—Its principal cities are in a ſtate of ſiege—and all this is done to avoid an accumulation of worſe evils!

Your convert is very buſy in collecting over the remains of his tottering faith; the good man has juſt written a letter to the Grand Inquiſition of Spain, which, tranſlated into Spaniſh, is to be diſtributed in that country. Spain is not very far from a revolution, and it is likely that theſe latter events will take place before the Engliſh expedition, for which immenſe preparations are making. Of the revolution of Switzerland you will ſee the accounts in the public papers. Our friend Le Grand is preparing a conſtitution for the new republic. Ochs has been very officious in this buſineſs, and has been here ſhewing himſelf off as the ſole and great regenerator of his country. However, the thing is done; and the three-coloured flag, with William Tell's hat, has diſplaced the* on the Council Houſe of Berne. You will probably ſee Miſs W.'s two volumes of Travels by the time this reaches you.

And now a few words on Domeſtic affairs. The manufactory of which you laid the corner ſtone is now finiſhed, and forms one of the fineſt eſtabliſhments in France.—But it has been ſub-

* Not legible.

ject to many mutations ſince you left us:—Mr. Parker, for inſtance, has met with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, that he has not been able to pay more than one-third of one action;—neither De Wit nor Van Stephent, or any of their original properties, are any thing in it. But we have among our friends got a very reſpectable company, who have paid in their ſhares, and the eſtabliſhment is new entirely. I have paid in two ſhares, and am allowed till *Prairial* to make up the third, by the pot or pearl aſh we expect from America. If they do not arrive, I forfeit the pledge I have put in. Whether that is to come, if you would give us a ſingle line to inform us, you would much oblige us. You will not be diſpleaſed at this work of your hands, when you come to ſee what a ſuperb place, as well as convenient one, M. TALLEYRAND IS A SUBSCRIBER.

In the pleaſing expectation of ſeeing you once more among us, I ſubſcribe for myſelf, as well as for Gallois, Talleyrand, Erigone, and our family,

Your moſt faithful——

12th February, 1798.

PRAY are you continuing your ſpeculations on the great events? are you in the preſs?—Dr. G—— has written us that he has ſent to your order the books you wrote.—Is there any thing here that we can ſend you?

P. S. If pot or pearl aſh could be ſent, and a credit of nine or twelve months given, it would anſwer the ſame purpoſe as if it was ſent from the works. I ſhall then be in full caſh to anſwer it.

The firſt opportunity, the French tranſlation of my Swiſs Travels—for I have no Engliſh copy in my poſſeſſion.—It is tranſlated with great elegance by M. Say, Redacteur of the Decade Philoſophique.—I flatter myſelf you will approve the ſpirit in which it is written.

With the warmeſt wiſhes for your happineſs, and for all who are dear to you, believe me ever,

My dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate—

My mother and ſiſter are well, and I have two charming little nephews—the eldeſt is already an excellent republican.

In another Hand.

I SNATCH a little ſcrap of M.'s paper, to recal myſelf to your remembrance, and to remind you, my dear ſir, that we count the ſeaſons for the fulfilment of your promiſe to your friends in this part of the world.—All here remember you with thoſe ſentiments of reſpect and affection, and regret your loſs with that unaffected concern to which you have ſuch claim. We hope the period is not diſtant when theſe requeſts will ceaſe.—

FINIS.